

# The culture-specific development of the use of emoticons in electronic texts

Shizuko OZAKI

## Abstract

The current study presents the idea that a new method of communication develops with an introduction of a new technology, and the way it does so is culture-specific. It explores how the use of emoticons in electronic texts has been progressing, with special focus on the Japanese language. Electronic writers seem to have similar motivation for using emoticons regardless of their native languages, such as the desires to show their attitudes and emphasize their propositions. However, closer look at individual emoticons both with and without context reveals that they are influenced by a number of aspects unique to the Japanese language and culture, which include the orthography, comics, and idioms.

## Introduction

It is rather evident that when a new technology enters the world, a new language is introduced along with it. “Language” here refers to every dimension of verbal or visual mode or style of communication. Eisenstein (1993), for instance, discusses that the coexistence of handwork and presswork gave rise to “the paradoxical combination of seeming continuity with radical change” (p.21). It can be interpreted that continuity refers to content, and radical change equals to form. Along with the advent of the printing technology, the style or form of writing—one aspect of language—developed and attracted considerable attention. Likewise, Baron (1999) describes the situation when the telephone was first introduced:

Initially, people were unsure of the appropriate ways to begin or end phone conversations, and lively debates ensued. The terms “hello” and “good-bye” quickly became standard, despite objections from purists who maintained that “hello” was not a greeting but an expression of surprise, and that “good-bye,” coming from “God be with you” (p.78-79).

In somewhat parallel to this instance, the expression *moshi moshi* (‘hello’) in Japanese is now almost exclusively used only on the phone. Here, vocabulary—another aspect of language—was contrived specially along with the technology of telephone. Yet another example may be electronic mails, brought with the technology of computer. Lee (1996) states, “e-mail messages not only contain less contextualizing or background information than the business letter, but also flaunt informal vocabulary, phonetic spellings, and colloquial sentence structures” (p.277). It seems to be now widely recognized that the language used

in e-mails or in other cyberspace stands midway between written texts and spoken words.

The general impact of a technology on human language and culture has been repeatedly addressed, but it seems that the impact of a technology on a specific language and culture has yet to be explored. The current paper aims to reveal a possible concrete form of the impact, focusing on how emoticons, one of many conventions brought about with the advent of the writing technology of computer, are used in Japanese electronic texts. It consists of the following components: 1) a report on what has been found about the use of emoticons in English electronic texts; 2) a presentation of Japanese emoticons, and 3) discussions on the use of emoticons in relation with prose. It is presented that the use of emoticons is undergoing a culture-specific development, which could impact our literacy and cultural transmission.

### Emoticons in English electronic texts

Lee (1996) defines emoticons as “illustrations constituted by punctuation marks and other symbols (primary nonalphanumeric) from the keyboard” (p.288). It is also reported that emoticons are typically read sideways (Jacobson, 1996; Lee, 1996; Phelan, 1996). Some of the most frequently used emotions are shown below.

- |     |      |                           |
|-----|------|---------------------------|
| (1) | : -) | smile                     |
|     | : -( | frown                     |
|     | ; -) | winking                   |
|     | : -o | surprised                 |
|     | 8 -o | astonished                |
|     | : -P | sticking out one's tongue |

In terms of functions, many scholars note that emoticons are used to express certain emotions, feelings, interpretations, attitudes, and modes that the electronic writer wishes to impose on his or her prose, and thus they contribute to meanings (Jacobson, 1996; Bolter, 1996; Lee, 1996; Cutler, 1996). In addition, some articulate their ironic function (Jacobson, 1996; Bolter, 1996) as well as the function to soften potentially ironic, sarcastic, or harmful statements (Reid, 1994; Kinnaly, 1997). Kinnaly (1997) provides the following instances to make this point clear (p.12):

- |     |                          |
|-----|--------------------------|
| (2) | My boss is crazy.        |
|     | My boss is crazy. :-)    |
|     | My boss is *crazy*. ; -) |

She comments that “most people would take the first statement more seriously than either of the other two, yet the words are identical” (p.13).

Yet another function is a joking use, as discussed in Lee (1996): “Some emoticons exist mainly as jokes, passed along from one person to the next as examples of wit” (p.288). She provides the following examples of this function.

(3) Charlie Chaplin: C):- (EQ)

Ronald Reagan: 7:-)

These are not only visually complex but also culture-specific. Whether the emoticons in (3) are understood as jokes depends on viewers' knowledge of who the people are and of how they look like. The emoticons here function in the same way as prose jokes do: They require viewers/readers of cultural background knowledge. Reid (1994) points out that "MUD<sup>1</sup> players continually develop their own emoticons, adapting the symbols available on the standard keyboard to create minute and essentially ephemeral pieces of textual art to represent their own virtual actions and responses" (p.22). It is understood that computer users are developing various emoticons, and the question is whether or not their creations are affected by their language and culture.

### Emoticons in Japanese electronic texts: Without context

In this section, various Japanese emoticons are presented without context and examined from various cultural perspectives. It is reported that the earliest Japanese emotion (^\_^) appeared in about 1986, by which time, the emoticons that are read sideways had already been in use in the United States ('The history of face icons'). An obvious characteristic of the emoticon is that it is viewed as it is; that is, there is no need to rotate 90 degrees to interpret it. Some more emoticons that are frequently used in Japanese electronic texts today are given below.

(4)	(;_;)	crying
	(>_<)	ouch
	(-_-)	staring
	丶(^0^)/	happy
	(^-^;	oops!/oh dear!
	(T-T)	sad (crying)
	(¯¯;)!!	shocked
	(*^_^*)	blushed

Many of the emoticons given above are perhaps found among what Ekman (1999) calls "universal facial expressions" and straightforward enough for anyone to understand regardless of their cultural background. Nevertheless, there may be a few points to be noted. In comparing the smile face icon (^\_^) developed in Japan and the icon :-) created in the United States, for instance, one may observe that the smile is expressed in the eyes in the former while it is expressed in the mouth in the latter. The emoticon (^\_^) is called a "Japanese smile" by some American emoticon users, and they believe that Japanese people smile in their eyes without moving their mouths ('The origin of face icons'). The Japanese smile face icon seems to be in accordance with the idea expressed by the saying, "Eyes tell as much as a mouth does<sup>2</sup>." Another culturally unique point may be found in the shocked face (¯¯;)!! with a square mouth. This could be traced

back to the logographic *kanji* or Chinese character, ‘口’ (pronounced as *kuchi*, meaning ‘mouth’).

Less common emoticons include the following:

- |     |                          |               |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------|
| (5) | (° - °)(o_°)(° - °)(o_°) | nodding       |
|     | (^^?                     | right?        |
|     | (^-^)                    | being haughty |
|     | (^ ˘ ^)                  | being proud   |
|     | (¥_¥)                    | money!        |
|     | σ(° — ° *)               | me?           |

The emoticons given in (5) may be even more culturally biased. The nodding emoticon consists of four faces, which altogether depict a head moving up and down twice. The second emotion functions almost like a tag question, seeking for agreement. These two emoticons are somewhat in concert with the Japanese virtue of non-confrontation. The next two emoticons, the “being haughty” and “being proud” ones, seem to be based on certain linguistic expressions. The “being haughty” emoticon is a manifestation of *funzorikaeru*, literally meaning ‘throwing one’s head back,’ and the “being proud” one reflects the expression *hana ga takai*, which literally means ‘having a prominent nose.’ The money emoticon is culture-specific but perhaps clear to even non-Japanese viewers: The icon for Japanese yen is used as eyes, depicting that all one sees is money. The last emoticon is related to gestures. In the “me?” emoticon, the symbol ‘σ’ shows a finger pointing at the nose area. Japanese people point at their nose with their index finger to point at themselves while Americans point at their chest with their thumb<sup>3</sup>. It is no doubt that every Japanese would say that the finger portrayed in this emoticon is an index finger.

The following emoticons are most likely created by Japanese electronic writers, but the gestures themselves are “borrowed.”





- |     |          |                         |
|-----|----------|-------------------------|
| (6) | (^^)V    | peace!/victory!         |
|     | ㄱ(‘-` )ㄱ | beat me/out of question |
|     | ㄷ(‘_’)   | mad at you!             |
|     | )0’(     | “The Scream” by Munch   |

The V-sign has been popular in Japan for quite a while. Crystal (1995) states that “V is for victory” and that “the symbolic role of this letter merged at the end of World War 2, and is still widely used as a hand-sign of success” (p.268). In contemporary Japan, however, the original meaning is rarely recognized, and the sign seems to have become merely a popular hand gesture among younger generations when they are photographed. The gestures depicted in the next two emoticons are newer borrowings. The “beat me” emoticon shows one’s shrugging his or her shoulders, and the mad emoticon demonstrates one’s flipping his or her middle finger. The last emoticon simplifies the Norwegian painter’s prominent work, “The Scream.” This emoticon is highly similar to the Chaplin and Reagan emoticons given in (3), primarily

functioning as a joke rather than conveying some messages when it is used out of context. It is worthy to note that these emoticons blend the Japanese and western cultures.

*Manga* or comics can easily be imagined to have affected the development of Japanese emoticons. What follows is emoticons that demonstrate visual conventions developed through *manga*.

Table 1. Resemblances between emoticons and *manga* illustrations

sigh	(o' n'o)=3	
I have a plot!	(- ☆ )	
dizzy...	((@。 @;)	
crying	(ioi)	
a bit upset	(- _-#)	

The illustrations are taken from *Otanko Nurse* by Noriko Sasaki (1995-1998).

It should be made clear that the visual cues transformed into the emoticons, such as the breath, the spark in the eye, the swirls in the eyes, etc. are by no means unique to the drawings of this particular cartoonist. One can view similar signs in a variety of *manga*. It should also be emphasized that the emoticons in Table 1 are observed from time to time in electronic texts. It is reasonable to assume that the emoticons have a direct reference not to the real world but to the *manga* world. Once again, Japanese emoticons are shown to have been undergoing an idiosyncratic development, influenced by and interacted with an aspect of the culture unique to Japanese.

### Emoticons in Japanese electronic texts: In context

The focus in this section is how emoticons are used in context. The central issue is how they are related to prose. The examples used here are from e-mails, Internet message boards, and online mail magazines. The original messages are written in the Japanese orthography.

A general observation of the use of emoticons leads to the establishment of three categories in relation with prose: 1) the emoticons that aid prose; 2) the emoticons that are aided by words or phrases; and 3) the emoticons that replace prose. Most instances fall into one of these three categories although there may be some emoticons that can be captured by multiple categories. Those that fall into the first category typically occur at the end of a sentence or a message. In terms of functions, attitudinal and emphatic types are proposed. The following are some examples of the former.

#### *Attitudinal:*

- (7) Oh my... I couldn't get a ticket for Radiohead (-.-)
- (8) Long time no see, Yu-san♪ I wonder when she is gonna show up again in *Lonchars* . . . (T-T)
- (9) I need to find a boyfriend before that ~ (laugh) well, I don't have time! (> <+)
- (10) It that true? 、(^0^)/
- (11) [I am dooooooone!] 5:13 pm, Friday, January 26 (≧ ≦)(≧ ≦)(≧ ≦)!!
- (12) Thank you very much for many e-mails of your support and comments. m(\_ \_ )m
- (13) If possible, I would like to have a mutual link.... Let me know  
(I'm sorry for asking too much m(\_ \_ )m)

An attitudinal emoticon expresses the writer's attitude toward the preceding prose and thus carries some amount of new information. In (8), for instance, the writer is talking about the actress of whom he or she is a big fan. *Lonchars* is a potential TV program where the actress might regularly show up, and the writer states, "I wonder when she is gonna show up again," with the crying emoticon (T-T), indicating that it is unlikely, which makes him or her sad. In (10), the emoticon 、(^0^)/ shows the writer's joyful or exciting attitude toward whatever the writer refers to as 'that' if it is true. Similarly, in (11), the writer shows his or her overly delightful attitude toward the fact that he or she finished some painful work by repeating the exciting emoticon (≧ ≦) three times. The emoticon m(\_ \_ )m is used with gratitude in (12) and an apology in (13). This emoticon may be highly culturally biased. It shows someone kneeling down on the ground

and bending over and deeply lowering one's head. The two *ms* beside the parentheses depict hands, and the two underbars indicate eyes. In Japan, people often bow, particularly when they greet, express gratitude and an apology, and make a favor. The deeper a bow is, the greater the sincerity is. The deepest possible bow depicted by the emoticon expresses the writer's sincere attitude toward his or her gratitude or apology.

While attitudinal emoticons convey some new information, emphatic ones express the same content with the preceding prose, and as a result, the prose is emphasized. Some examples of this type are given below.

*Emphatic:*

- (14) No good... (T-T) My cold won't get better!
- (15) Many people say, "I'm surprised to hear you sing what I feel!" I'm sooooo glaaad o(\*^\_^\*)o
- (16) It's my first live concert. I'm a bit nervous. [\*\_\*;] What am I gonna do if I do a bad job??
- (17) That's gonna be a talk on their school life... it may not be so fun (--)
- (18) Ah! I can't keep my eyes from the countdown in the top page! (@\_@)
- (19) Well, give me a cheer☆q(^-^q)
- (20) (ㄟ\_ㄟ) "You guys! What are you thinking?! How could we possibly read that many books by the next week!" That's what I want to shout to my professors these days.

In examples (14) to (17), the prose explicitly conveys emotion or evaluation: *No good* in (14); *I'm sooooo glaaad* in (15); *I'm a bit nervous* in (16); *it may not be so fun* in (17). Therefore, what the emoticons do in these examples is to re-express the same message. In examples (18) to (20), the prose is a statement of some action, and the emoticon visualizes it: The emoticon (@\_@) in (18) depicts *I can't keep my eyes from...*; in (19), the emoticon q(^-^q), showing cheer leaders holding pompoms, is the realization of the term *cheer*; and in (20), the emoticon (ㄟ\_ㄟ) corresponds to the word *shout*.

In contrast to the emoticons discussed so far, there are emoticons that are attended by prose. One noticeable difference between the two categories may be that the first category lacks helping words or phrases, and thus it potentially allows multiple interpretations, whereas the second category usually has only one interpretation due to the explicit explanation that follows the emoticon. The following are some examples of the second category.

- (21) ㄗ( ' - ` ) ㄗ Huh, who knows?
- (22) L(>0<)」 Oh, my god!
- (23) ( ~ ~ 嬉 ) ha ha ha ha ha!
- (24) \ ( ≧ 皿 ≦ ; ) Owwww!
- (25) ♪Maracas""8(^ ^8)(8^ ^)8"" ring ring♪
- (26) (^ ^)/☆(++ ) bang
- (27) (\*^~^\*) mumble
- (28) (ノ - \_ -)ノ ~        overturning a low dining table

Examples (21) and (22) contain actual words that would be uttered in the situations depicted in the emoticons. Examples (23) to (26) accompany onomatopoeic expressions. Considering the fact that Japanese has much larger onomatopoeic expressions than English (Tsujimura, 1995), numerous examples of this kind are expected to be found. Examples (27) and (28) appear with the words that explain the pictures. The aid of words and phrases are so great in above examples that some of them may not make much sense or could be misleading without it. For instance, in (28), the emoticon depicts someone overturning a low dining table. This action is a reflection of the power relationship between men and women in older times in Japan: The father and husband, the absolute power of a household, simply overturns a low dining table with a meal on top of it. Now, this behavior is a cliché for an overly arrogant husband, someone with a short temper, or simply an angry person. It goes without saying that non-Japanese readers would have a hard time interpreting the emoticon, but even Japanese readers may have a problem in making sense out of it if it occurs alone because of its complexity. However, with the help of the text, the emoticon suddenly transforms into a fun and live piece of communication. In contrast, (23) and (24) are more straightforward at least to Japanese viewers, due to the use of the Chinese characters. The Chinese character in (23), 嬉, means “joy” or “happiness.” Moreover, the emoticon actualizes the Japanese idiomatic expression, “you have the letters of ‘happiness’ written in your face,” which is said to someone overly smiling. The one in (24), 皿, means “blood,” and the position and shape of the character could imply that it represents a nose, depicting someone with a nosebleed, which in turn indicates that he or she is overly excited. The accompanying onomatopoeic expressions make these emoticons even more lively and effective. Example (26) contains a complex emoticon that depicts someone playfully hitting another. The word *bang* may be crucial for many readers to interpret it.

Although the emoticons in the second category accompany text aiders, in larger context, the emoticon and its aider together often functions as an aid of the preceding prose. The following diagram manifests this point.

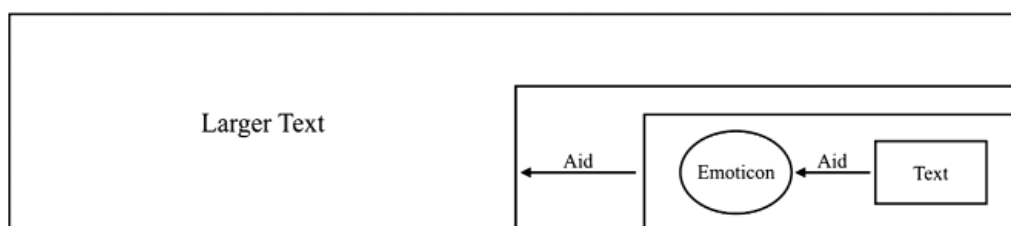


Figure 1. Emoticons with text aiding larger text

This may evoke the idea that in larger context, the second category works quite similarly as the first category. In fact, attitudinal and emphatic functions discussed for the first category, are also applicable to the second category when it is viewed in a larger scale. To demonstrate this point, some of the examples of the second category shown above are now presented below with larger discourse.



*Attitudinal:*

- (29) “A little cuckoo, if you don’t want to sing, I’ll wait till you sing” – Nice words. Yes. I’ll follow you, Mr. Tokugawa<sup>4</sup>! Well, he’s already dead (^)/☆(++ ) bang

*Emphatic:*

- (30) If I couldn’t buy one, I would be mad, like, “Whether or not you have luck in getting through on the phone decides whether you can get one? No way!!!” (ノ-\_-)ノ ~ **ㄣ** overturning a low dining table
- (31) You’ll probably see the pictures where I am guffawing, hugging my friends, or eating up cakes (laugh) (\*^~^\*)mumble

In (29), the emoticon and the accompanying word show the writer’s attitude toward, in this case, more like evaluation on the preceding discourse; that is, the writer punishes herself by having someone hit her for making nonsense. In (30), the words *I would be mad* are replicated and thus emphasized by the angry person emoticon with the explanation words. In (31), the mumbling emoticon visualizes the action of eating up cakes. All of these instances manifest the structure given in Figure 1.

The first two categories are major use of emoticons in contemporary Japanese electronic texts. However, as indicated above, there seems to be the third category in relation with prose, the emoticons that replace prose. The emergence of these emoticons may be a significant implication for a shift in the style of writing brought about with the computer. The following are some examples.

- (32) Please favor me as ever. Well then... (^\_^)/~~
- (33) (^\_^) (as a subject of email)
- (34) (^ ^)/~ (as a handle name in a bulletin board)

The waving emoticon in (32), for instance, does not show a particular attitude toward or evaluation on the preceding sentence. It does not repeat what has been said previously to emphasize it, either. The explanations provided for the first and second categories do not hold here. What it does is to replace words, such as “see you” or “good bye.” In other words, it functions as an alternative to these expressions. Examples (33) and (34), appearing in the place where some words or phrases are expected to occur, are also alternatives to words. They can be interpreted as a greeting, a happy piece of news, etc. They allow multiple interpretations. Here is yet another example of this kind.

- (35) (^-^ ) *na* *keejiban*  
adjective marker bulletin board  
‘(^-^)-like bulletin board’

Example (35) is a title of an internet message board. *Na* is a grammatical marker that transforms nouns into adjectives. Some typical adjective formations with *na* are given below.

(36) Noun		Adjective
<i>kenkou</i>	→	<i>kenkou na</i>
health		healthy
<i>zeitaku</i>	→	<i>zeitaku na</i>
extravagance		extravagant

The emoticon in (35) is treated exactly like the nouns in (36). Taking a derivational morpheme, it acts like a linguistic element, which can be seen as another evidence for emoticons' replacing words.

While many emoticons are servants to prose, some others are found to be self-support. The use of self-support emoticons may be a new mode of communication brought about with the technology of computer. It is also argued that the development of Japanese emoticons and the rising trend of graphics over prose may not be irrelevant to the Japanese non-verbal culture where silence and reticence are often appreciated over verbosity. It may be the case that emoticon users let emoticons communicate with others rather than they themselves talk unambiguously. It requires another research to examine whether or not high context cultures, such as the Japanese culture, use more emoticons than low context cultures, such as the American culture<sup>5</sup>. The findings of such a study might shed more light on the idiosyncrasy of the use of emoticons in a specific culture.

## Conclusions

Through observation and discussions on the use of emoticons in Japanese electronic texts, the present paper attempts to demonstrate how a new convention brought about with a new technology can develop in a specific culture. It is found that the shape and message of many emoticons are heavily influenced by and interacted with culture-specific or language-specific facts, such as the Japanese orthography, *manga* culture, idiomatic expressions, gestures, and so on.

Dominating functions of emoticons are proposed to be attitudinal and emphatic. The former adds something new to the surrounding text while the latter repeats what the text has said. Specifically, emoticons can be used to make a joke, be ironic, make fun, make a message lively, promote smooth communication, represent a personal style of the writer, and do many more. The use of emoticons is not limited to what Bolter (1996) claims: "The use of icons in e-mail and newsgroups suggest that contemporary electronic writers are not interested in the distancing and ambiguity that prose offers. Instead, they want to give their prose a single voice and if possible a face" (p.108). While the present study focuses on the culture-specific development of the use of emoticons, these functions are implied to be universal across different languages.

The close examination on the use of emoticons in relation with prose reveals a sign for a transition in the style of writing from prose to graphics, which is possibly motivated by the non-verbal values that the

Japanese culture entails. Japanese emoticons will perhaps be used more and more as electronic writers increase. They will continue to depict cultural ideas and further contribute to promoting the visual world. Japanese children in the near future can possibly start learning their culture through emoticons.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> MUD = “Multiple dungeon. A programming system through which computer users in different physical locations can communicate in the same networked, virtual space” (Bolter and Grusin, 1999, p.273)
- <sup>2</sup> This idea is perhaps in turn related to the Japanese virtue of silence or tacit understanding, which will be discussed more in a later section.
- <sup>3</sup> It is believed that a nose has been a symbol of “self” since the ancient times as the Chinese character for “nose” (鼻) includes the character for “self” (自).
- <sup>4</sup> Mr. Tokugawa refers to Ieyasu Tokugawa, a famous general in the Edo period. He is known as an easygoing person. The little cuckoo saying was made to describe his personality. This contrasts with the sayings to tell the personalities of two other famous generals: “A little cuckoo, if you don’t want to sing, I’ll just kill you” (Nobunaga Oda) and “A little cuckoo, if you don’t want to sing, I’ll try to make you sing” (Hideyoshi Toyotomi).
- <sup>5</sup> Hall (1976) claims that in high context cultures, fewer words are exchanged with greater context whereas in low context cultures, more words are spoken with less implication from context.

## References

- Baron, D. (1999). From pencils to pixels: The stage of literacy technologies. In G. E. Hawisher and C. L. Selfe (Eds.), *Passions, pedagogies and 21<sup>st</sup> century technologies* (pp.15-33). Logan: Utah State UP.
- Bolter, J. D. (1996). Virtual reality and the redefinition of self. In L. Strate, R. Jacobson, and S. B. Gibson (Eds.), *Communication and cyberspace: Social interaction in an electronic environment* (pp.105-120). New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- Bolter, J. D. and Grusin, R. (1999). *Remediation*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Crystal, D. (1995). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cutler, R. H. (1996). Technologies, relations, and selves. In L. Strate, R. Jacobson, and S. B. Gibson (Eds.), *Communication and cyberspace: Social interaction in an electronic environment* (pp.317-333). New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- Eisenstein, E. (1993). *The printing revolution in early modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge.
- Ekman, P. (1999). Basic emotions. In T. Dalgleish and M. Power (Eds.), *Handbook of cognition and emotion* (pp.45-60). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. New York: Anchor Press.
- Jacobson, D. (1996). Contexts and cues in cyberspace: The pragmatics of naming in text-based virtual realities. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 56, 461-479.
- Kinnaly, G. (1997). The rule of the road for effective Internet communication. *Library Mosaics*, 8 (3), 10-16.
- Lee, J. Y. (1996). Charting the codes of cyberspace: A rhetoric of electronic mail. In L. Strate, R. Jacobson, and S. B. Gibson (Eds.), *Communication and cyberspace: Social interaction in an electronic environment* (pp.275-296). New Jersey: Hampton Press.

- Phelan, J. M. (1996). CyberWalden: The inner face of interface. In L. Strate, R. Jacobson, and S. B. Gibson (Eds.), *Communication and cyberspace: Social interaction in an electronic environment* (pp.39-48). New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- Reid, E. (1994). Cultural formations in text-based virtual realities. M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia.
- Sasaki, N. (1995-1998). *Otanko Nurse* Vol.1-7. Tokyo: Shogakukan.
- The history of face icons (my translation). Retrieved June 14, 2001, from <http://www.diana.dti.ne.jp/~s-tuzi/history.html>.
- The origin of face icons (my translation). Retrieved June 14, 2001, from [http://www.etl.go.jp/etl/divisions/~harigaya/doc/kao\\_int.html](http://www.etl.go.jp/etl/divisions/~harigaya/doc/kao_int.html).
- Tsujimura, N. (1995). *An introduction to Japanese linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.